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## STUDIES IN GREEK NOUN-FORMATION

Based in part upon material collected by the late A. W. STRATTON, and prepared under the supervision of CARL D. BUCK.<sup>1</sup>

### DENTAL TERMINATIONS I. 3

#### WORDS WITH GENITIVE IN -ωτος

By CARL D. BUCK

1. *Verbal adjectives of the type ἡμιβρώς*.—This type has been discussed in connection with that of προβλής (above, pp. 173 ff.), with mention of the more obvious derivatives belonging to it, namely, those in -βλως, -γνως, -βρως, -τρως, -στρως, -πτως.

Two other verbal adjectives are formed by analogy from apparent roots in -ω: ἄζῶτες· οἱ μὴ εἰς τὰ συνεστῶτα παρόντες Hesych., from ζω-, originally ζωσ-, of ἐζωμένος, etc. (cf. ἐζωμένοι· παρόντες. ἔτοιμοι Hesych.);<sup>2</sup> ἀβῶς· ἄφθογγος Hesych., which, in spite of the accent given, is not from \*ἀβοάς, but formed from the contracted βω- of ἔβωσα, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Substantive forms from roots in ω are: δῶς Hes. *Op.* 354 (nom. only); πλώς 'swimmer,' name of a fish, Ath. 288 B, etc.; εὐρώς 'mold,' probably from ἐ-φρω-τ (root φερ-, Skt. var- 'cover'),<sup>4</sup> and the name of the Spartan Ἐλωτες probably from ἐ-φελω-τ, with prothetic vowel and a form of the root seen in ἀλίσκομαι, ἀλῶναι, ἀλωτός.<sup>5</sup> φώς 'man,' which has τ-inflection from the earliest time, probably belongs here, rather than with the following having secondary τ, but its derivation is uncertain.<sup>6</sup>

2. *Nouns with secondary τ-inflection, like γέλως*.—In Homer there are no τ-forms of γέλως, ἔρως, or ἰδρώς; and χρώς has only once χρωτός, twice acc. χρωῶτ', beside usual χροός, χροά. Of these, γέλως and ἔρως

<sup>1</sup> See Introductory Note, *CP.* 5. 323 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schulze, *Quaest. Epic.* 311; Fraenkel, *Nom. ag.* 1. 78.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fraenkel, *Nom. ag.* 1. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Solmsen, *Untersuchungen* 123, 168, Brugmann, *Grd.*<sup>2</sup> 2. 1. 423.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Solmsen, *Untersuchungen* 251.

<sup>6</sup> Brugmann, *Grd.*<sup>2</sup> 2. 1. 536, connects it with Skt. bhās 'light, might,' etc.

are inherited *s*-stems (cf. *γελαστός, έραστός*), parallel to Lat. *honōs*, etc., and were originally inflected in Greek like the feminines *αἰδώς, ἦώς*. The original stem of *χρῶς* is uncertain, but it was probably diphthongal, with nom. *-ως* from *-ōis* (cf. Lat. *rēs*, Skt. *rās*, from *\*rēis*), gen. *-oos* from *-oios*. *ιδρώς* is based upon an earlier *\*ιδ-ρο-* with suffix *-ro-* (cf. Lett. pl. *swīdri* 'sweat'),<sup>1</sup> but was drawn into the same type as *χρῶς*.<sup>2</sup>

But after Homer they regularly have *τ*-inflection. Thus:

*γέλως, γέλωτος* in Herodotus and in Attic writers, except that the poets have acc. sg. *γέλων* beside *γέλωτα*. The compounds show occasional forms of the Attic second declension, as *κατάγελων* Ar. *Eq.* 319, Philost. 303, acc. pl. *κλαυσίγελως* Xen. *Hell.* 7. 2. 9, acc. pl. *φιλόγελως* Theophr. ap. Ath. 261, *d*. But the *τ*-inflection is usual, as *καταγέλωτα* Aesch. *Ag.* 1264, *ἡδυγέλωτα* h. Hom. 17.37, *φιλογέλωτας* Plat. *Civ.* 388, *e*, *κλαυσιγέλωτα* Dem. Phal. 28, Apollod. ap. Ath. 591c, *κλαυσιγέλωσιν* Plut. *Mor.* 1097f, *ύβριγέλωτας* and *αἰσχρογέλωτας* Manetho 4. 280, 283, *έγερσιγέλωτι* Anth. Pal. 11. 60, *φιλοπουλογέλωτα* Anth. Pal. 5. 243.<sup>3</sup>

*ἔρως, έρωτος* in Simon., Pindar, Hdt., h. Hom., Aesch., Soph., Eur., and all Attic prose (acc. sg. *ἔρων* only in late poets): The compounds show the same inflection, as *δυσέρωτας* Thuc. 6. 13, *αντέρωτα* Plato *Phaedr.* 255 *d*, etc. Inflection according to the Attic second declension, as given by Choeroboscus 1. 252. 7 (quoted in footnote 3), is not otherwise attested.

With the exception of *δυσέρως, αντέρως*, and *παιδέρως* (Teleclid., Meineke 2. 378 = *παιδεραστής*, Alex., Meineke 3. 423 'rouge'), the compounds are very late. Several are names of plants, as *παιδέρως* Plin. *N.H.* 22. 76, Paus. 2. 10. 5, Diosc. 3. 19, *ανακαμψέρως* Plin. *N.H.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meillet, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* 15. 261; Brugmann, *Grd.*<sup>2</sup> 2. 1. 353.

<sup>2</sup> The forms in our Homeric text, acc. *ιδρῶ*, dat. *ιδρῷ*, probably stand for *ιδρόα* and *ιδροῖ*. Cf. Kühner-Blass 1. 510.

<sup>3</sup> It is the practice of our lexicons and editions to accent compounds of *γέλως* (and of *ἔρως* and those in *-kerως*) as proparoxytone. But the statements of the grammarians upon which this practice is based are almost certainly to be interpreted as applying only to the forms of the Attic second declension, which were affected by the analogy of *ἀνάπλεως*, etc. Cf. Hdn. 1. 244. 30 ff. *ἔρως χρυσέρως, ιδρώς λυσιδρώς. τὸ δὲ δύσεως καὶ φιλόγελως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα Ἀττικὰ ὄντα προπαροξύτονται*, in the light of Choerob. 1. 252. 4 ff. *ἔρως έρωτος, χρυσέρως, γέλως γέλωτος, φιλογέλως φιλολέλωτος. εἰ δὲ Ἀττικὰ εἰσὶν ἀποβαλὴ τοῦ ο ποιοῦσι τὴν γενικήν, οἷον ὁ δύσεως τοῦ δύσεω, ὁ φιλόγελως τοῦ φιλόγελω, ὁ χρυσόκεως τοῦ χρυσόκεω*.

24. 167, Plut. *Mor.* 939 D, Hesych.; of gems, as *παιδέρως* Plin. *N.H.* 37. 123, *πανέρως* Plin. *N.H.* 37. 178; or animals, as *χηνέρως* Plin. *N.H.* 10. 56. Others occur only in scholiasts, grammarians, or lexicographers (see word-list).

*ιδρώς*, *ιδρώτος* in Hes., Soph., Ar., etc., and in all Attic prose: So also in compounds, as *εΐδρωτες*, *δυσίδρωτες* Theophr. fr. 9. 20, acc. pl. neut. *εΐδρωτα* Aristot. *Prob.* 2. 17.

*χρώς*, *χρωτός*: while forms of the older, and usual Homeric, inflection, gen. *χροός*, etc., continue in use in poetry (in Euripides they are about twice as common as the *τ*-forms), and Herodotus has once *χροΐ*, the *τ*-inflection, occurring already in Homer, Hesiod (*χρώτα* *Op.* 555), and Pindar (*χρώτα*, *χρωτί* beside *χροΐ*), is uniform in Attic and later prose, except for the Attic phrase *ἐν χρωῖ*. The compounds likewise regularly have the *τ*-inflection, though a few occur only in poetical forms of the older type, as *ταμεσίχροα* Hom., *γλανκόχροα* Pind., *ἀπαλόχροος* Hes., h. Hom., Theogn., and Herodotus also has *μελάγχροες* (2. 104).

The secondary *τ*-inflection in these four nouns must have its source in the inherited *τ*-inflection of the verbal adjectives in *-ώς*, in spite of the fact that the analogy is a purely formal one, without semantic support. Semantic association would be easier for the adjective compounds, but the evidence is against our assuming that the *τ*-inflection started in them.

*γάλως* seems to have been affected by *γέλως*, etc., in late times. At least Herodian (2. 234. 9) gives gen. *γάλω* and *γάλωτος*.

*κόλλωτες*, name of a kind of stone in Egypt (Ps. Plut. *de fluv.* 16. 2), presumably represents an Egyptian word, but whether the *τ* had any basis in the native form is unknown.

3. *Compounds in -κέρως*.—The adjective compounds in *-κέρως* from *-κέραος* regularly follow the Attic second declension, and *τ*-forms are unknown in Attic. The earliest example of the secondary *τ*-inflection is *δικέρωτα* h. Hom. 17. 2. Similar forms of eleven other compounds occur in late writers, as *ῥινοκέρωτας* Strabo 774, *ῥινοκέρωτος* Ael. *N.H.* 17. 44 (so *rhinocerōs*, *-ōtis* regularly in Latin authors), *aegocerōtis* Lucr. 5. 614, *αἰγοκέρωτα* Jul. *Orat.* 4. 156 a, *platycerōtas* and *strepsicerōti* Plin. *N.H.* 11. 124, *οἰοκέρωτες*, *τετρακέρωτες*, and *εὐρυκέρωτας* Opp. *Cyn.* 2. 96, 2. 378, 3. 2, *ὀλιγοκέρωτας* and *εὐκέρωτος*

Geopon. 18. 1. 3, *μονοκερώτων* LXX Ps. 21. 22, *monocerōtem* Plin. N.H. 8. 76, *ἀργικέρωτας* Diod. Sic. 7. 17.

Cf. the statement of Thomas Magister (p. 78 Ritschl) τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ κέρας οἱ μὲν κοινοὶ διὰ τοῦ τὸς κλίνουσι μονόκερως, μονοκέρωτος, αἰγόκερως, αἰγοκέρωτος· οἱ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ σ καὶ ταῦτα, χρυσόκερως, χρυσόκερω.

4. *The neuters* οὖς, ὥτος, φῶς, φωτός.—These have no historical connection with other words in gen. -ωτος. ὥτος is contracted from earlier οὔατος, for which see above, p. 24. ὦς in two κοινή inscriptions (BCH. 2. 322, Delos; IG. 7. 3498 Oropus) may be a genuine Ionic form = Dor. ὦς (Theocr. 11. 32), but may also be a new formation to ὥτος, etc. φωτός is formed to φῶς after its contraction from φάος.

5. *Personal names*.—There is no productive type of personal names in -ως, -ωτος parallel to that in -ης, -ητος. Only ἔρως and γέλως play any rôle, and that not until late times. Γέλως, Ἔρως, and a dozen ending in -έρως are quotable as men's names, but all from the Roman period.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Attic inscriptions of the Roman imperial period collected in IG. 3 show Γέλως (11 times), Ἔρως (30), Ἀντέρως (7), Ἑρμέρως (13), Μουσέρως (1), Νικέρως (4), Νυμφέρως (1), Παιδέρως (6), Συνέρως (3), Φιλέρως (29), Χρυσέρως (13).<sup>2</sup> Γέλως I have not found elsewhere, but Ἔρως and most of the compounds named occur also in late inscriptions of other parts of Greece, Φιλέρως being the most widespread, Νικέρως, Ἑρμέρως, and Χρυσέρως next. Furthermore, we find Πανέρως at Naples (cf. also Suet. Ner. 30), IG. 14. 734, Πειθέρως at Thespieae IG. 7. 1777 (which also contains Ἀντέρως and Φιλέρως; 1776 has Μουσέρως), Ἀλιπέρως in Asia Minor, *Papers Am. School at Athens* 2. No. 170, and Θαλασσέρως Alciph. 1. 18. Μελιχρως occurs IG. 5. 958, 959, but with gen. Μελιχροός. For late Greek forms like Ἀπολλῶς, Ἀπολλῶτος, see above, p. 186.

6. *Other proper names*.—As the name of a god only Ἔρως is early, later followed by Ἀντέρως, Paus., Ovid., etc. Πτέρως Plat. *Phaedr.*

<sup>1</sup> Fick-Bechtel, p. 115, remark: "Bis auf Νικέρως und Ἑρμέρως erst in spätrömischer Zeit nachweisbar." But of these two also all the occurrences I have found are late.

<sup>2</sup> There are no examples in IG. 2 (to time of Augustus) except Ἀντέρως 1052, the date of which is uncertain.

252 C, the name which the gods give to Ἔρως, is an obvious play upon Ἔρως and πτερόν. Γέλως was worshiped at Sparta, Plut. *Cleom.* 9.

There are no ethnica in -ῶτες, except of foreign source, as Ἀγνῶτες, Steph. Byz., a Celtic people.

## WORD-LIST

GENITIVE IN -ωτος<sup>1</sup>

(Masculine substantives unless otherwise indicated)

οὗς ὠτός, τό Hdt. + [p. 298.

ἄβῶς ὁ, ἡ Hesych. [p. 295.

δῶς, ἡ Hes. [p. 295.

ἄζῶτες Hesych. [p. 295.

γάλως, ἡ Hdn. [p. 297.

ἀγχιβλῶς, ὁ, ἡ Et. M. [p. 176.

Γέλως [p. 298.

γέλως Hdt. + [p. 296.

-γέλως [p. 296.

κατα- Aesch. +

παλιγ- Philo (but Cohn-Wendland

III. 84 read πάλιν γέλωτος).

ἰβρι-, ὁ, ἡ Manetho.

ἐγερσι-, ὁ, ἡ Paul. Sil.

κλαυσι- Dem. Phal. +

ἐκ- Poll.

ἀχρειο- Cratin.

φιλο-, ὁ, ἡ Plat. +

ἰγρο-, ὁ, ἡ Phryn.

αἰσχρο-, ὁ, ἡ Manetho

μισο-, ὁ, ἡ Alex. Aet.

πραν-, ὁ, ἡ Licymn., Anth. Pal.

ἡδν-, ὁ, ἡ h. Hom., Anth. Pal.

πολυ-, ὁ, ἡ Plut. +

φιλοπουλυ- Anth. Pal.

Εἰλωτες [p. 295.

κόλλωτες Ps. Plut. [p. 297.

πλῶς Epich. ap. Ath. [p. 295.

-γνῶς, ὁ, ἡ [p. 174.

ἀ- Hom. +

ἀρι- Pind. + [p. 176.

ἄλλο- Emped.

\*Αγνῶτες [p. 299.

-βρώς, ὁ, ἡ [p. 174.

ἀ- Paul. Sil.

ἄλι- Lyc.

ἡμι Antiph., Epier.

παιδο- Eust.

νεο- Hipp.

σαρκο- Moschio

ῶμο- Soph., Eur.

οἶνο- Nic.

ἀνδρο- Eur.

σιδηρο- Soph.

χειρο- Stesich.

κρατο- Lyc.

τριχό- Ar. + [p. 176.

βαρυ- Soph.

ἰδρῶς Hes. + [p. 297.

<sup>1</sup> Not included are the numerous foreign proper names in -ῶς, -ῶτος (-ως, -ωτος), for which cf. above, p. 186. It will be understood that in the case of words in which the τ-inflection is secondary the reference is to the first appearance of the word in this inflection. Of compounds in -κέρως only those are listed which are quotable with τ-inflection. But compounds in -ἰδρως, -έρως, and -χρως, since in these τ-inflection had become the normal one, are listed in full, including some which are quotable only in the nominative singular, and also, in the case of -χρως, the few (distinguished by parentheses) which are quotable only in the type without τ. Proper names are listed without references, as, for the very few not to be found in Pape, these have been given in the text.

- ίδρωσ, ὁ, ἡ [p. 297.  
καθίδρωσ Basil  
δυσίδρωσ Theophr.  
λυσίδρωσ Choerob.  
εὐίδρωσ Arist., Theophr.  
ἔρωσ Simon.+ [p. 296.  
\*Ερωσ [p. 298.  
-έρωσ [pp. 296, 298.  
παιδ- Teleclid.+  
Παιδ-  
Πειθ-  
κακ-, ὁ, ἡ Ps. Hdn. Epim.  
Νικ-  
Φιλ-  
'Ερμ-  
παν- Plin.  
Παν-  
θρην- Poll.  
μσην- Poll.  
χην-, ἡ Plin.  
Συν-  
'Αλιπ-  
μωσ-, ὁ, ἡ Ps. Hdn. Epim.  
Θαλασσ-  
δυσ-, ὁ, ἡ Thuc.+  
λυσ- Schol. Verg.  
Μουσ-  
Χρυσ-  
ἀντ- Plat.+  
'Αντ-  
αὐτ- Theod. Prod.  
πολυ-, ὁ, ἡ Hdn.  
Νυμφ-  
ἀνακαμψ- Plin., Plut., Hesych.  
-κέρωσ, ὁ, ἡ [pp. 297-8.  
τετρα- Opp.  
ἀργι- Diod.  
δι- h. Hom.+  
στρεψι- Plin.  
αἶγο Lucr., Jul., Plin.  
ὀλιγο- Geopon.  
οἰο- Opp.  
ῥινο- Strabo+  
μονο- LXX, Plin.  
εὐ- Geopon.  
εὐρυ- Opp.  
πλατυ- Plin., Diosc.  
Πτέρωσ [p. 298.  
ἀτρώσ, ὁ, ἡ Paus., Choerob. [p. 174.  
φυλλοστρώσ, ὁ, ἡ Theocr., Anth.  
Pal. [p. 174.  
εὐρώσ Simon.+ [p. 295.  
χρώσ Hom.+ [p. 297.  
-χρωσ, ὁ, ἡ [p. 297.  
ᾶ- Plat., Hipp.  
μελάγ- Eur.+  
πάγ- Synes.  
δί- Aristot.  
μελί- Plin.+  
(Μελί-) [p. 298.  
τρί- Aristot.  
(πυρί- Aristot. Galen)  
ἀνθεσί- Matro ap. Ath.  
(ταμεσί- Hom.)  
τρεψί- Aristot.  
θρυψί Hesych.  
ἀργό- Theod. Prodr.  
πελαργό- Lyc., Eust.  
μολυβδό- Galen.  
ῥοδό- Theocr.  
ξανθό- Nausic.  
λειό- Aristot.  
πολιό- Eur., Ar.  
ἄλλοτριό- Anth. Pal.  
φαινικό- Sophronius.  
κροκό- Nicet. Eugen.  
(γλαυκό- Pind.)  
λευκό- Eubul.+  
ἰσολευκό- Hipp.  
(ἀπαλό- h. Hom.+)  
(ποικιλό- Ath.)  
ἀλλό- Eur.  
αἰολό- Eur.  
ὁμό- Aristot.+  
μελανό- Eur.+  
κνανό- Eur.+  
παρθενό- Anth. Pal.  
τερενό- Anaxandr. ap. Ath.

- χρως, ὅ, ἡ  
 κελαινό Aesch. +  
 οἰνό Theophr.  
 χιονό Eur.  
 μονό Aristot.  
 λιπαρό Theocr.  
 τακερό Antiph.  
 γλυκερό Anth. Pal.  
 ἐνερό Alciph. r.  
 τρυφερό Diosc.  
 κηρό Chaerem. ap. Ath.  
 ἐρυθρό Crat.  
 ἰσχυρό Schol. Hom.  
 ἀλφιτό Eust. Hesych.  
 γαλακτό Philyll., Nausic.
- λεπτό Eur., CGL.  
 δύσ- Hipp.  
 εὔ- Ar. +  
 πολύ- Aristot.  
 ἀπτώς, ὅ, ἡ Pind. + [p. 174.  
 φώς Hom. + [p. 295.  
 δαμασι-, ὅ, ἡ Simon.  
 φῶς Plat. + [p. 26.  
 ᾄ- Eust.  
 πλησί, ὅ, ἡ Theol. Ar.  
 λειψί-, ὅ, ἡ Eust.  
 σκίω-, τό Heliod.  
 λυκό-, τό Ael., Schol. Il.  
 σεληνό-, τό Chaerem. ap. Ath.  
 αὐτό-, τό Greg. Naz.